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the wiser of his sickness ; but he reckoned nothing of that if he must lose Kokua. And again he might have wed Kokua even as he was ; and so many would have done, because they have the souls of pigs ; but Keawe loved the maid manfully, and he would do her no hurt and bring her in no danger." But later, though Keawe shows himself a Christian in the end, he does not always prove as honest with himself as Kokua. When the old man has bought the bottle, presumably for his own use, Keawe declines to have any pity for him, not wishing to think he has saved his own soul by the eternal ruin of another. He grows angry with his wife for dwelling on this consideration, the more so because of its truth. "Then Keawe, because he felt the truth of what she said, grew the more angry." The situation is full of dramatic irony when we consider it is Kokua whose soul is lost ; and the psychology is admirable all through this part of the tale. The scapegoat boatswain, obstinate in his own damnation, is an embodied moral.

But after all, I fear it was not the moral aspects of the tale that appealed to the author's Samoan neighbours. It was rather the magic and the practical that touched their imaginations. There is something pathetic in the thought that these natives, after reading the story, could still suppose the gentle and virtuous Stevenson to be the owner of so baneful a talisman.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE SESTINA.

Tradition ascribes the invention of this elaborate verse-form to the troubadour Arnaut Daniel and tradition in this case seems to be based on a passage in Dante, *De Vulgari eloquentia*,¹ II, 13 : "Unum est stantia, sine rithimo, in qua nulla rithimorum habitudo attenditur ; et huiusmodi stantiis usus est Arnaldus Danielis frequentissime, velut ibi : *Sem fos Amor de joi donar* ; et nos dicimus : *Al poco giorno*." A curious point in connection with this

passage, and one which appears to have been overlooked, is that while Dante's poem beginning *Al poco giorno* is undoubtedly a sestina, the one by Arnaut Daniel to which he refers is certainly not. It is a poem of six strophes of eight lines each (with an envoi of two lines) in which the same rhymes are used from strophe to strophe, but not the same rhyme-words, nor is there change of order. I shall attempt to explain this contradiction below. Diez, who mentions the passage,² says : "Dass unser Troubadour wirklich, wie man vorgiebt, der Erfinder dieser wunderlicher Liederform sei, darüber haben wir kein Zeugnis ; allein, da wir ebensowenig eine ältere Sextine aufweisen können, als die seinige, und alle Umstände für ihn sprechen, so müssen wir ihn forthin für den Erfinder gelten lassen." A. Stimming, in Gröber's *Grundriss*,³ speaks of "der Sextine, die von Arnaut Daniel erfunden ist."

Other scholars, however, modify this impression that the invention of the sestina was due to a happy inspiration of the troubadour Daniel. Thus Bartsch⁴ says : "Die Rundcanzone, *cansos redonda*, hat mit der Sextine die grösste Aehnlichkeit."

F. W. Maus⁵ in speaking of the single poem extant from the pen of Guillem de Bearn and of his use of the same rhyme-words in all its stanzas (rhyming them, however, with each other also within the stanza), adds : "und betrachte die bekannten 3 Sextinen von Arn. Daniel, Bert. Zorzi und Guill. de S. Gregori [the latter two being imitations of the first] als eine weitere Ausbildung dieser Reimspielerei." Even Diez⁶ had noted a poem of Guillem Peire de Cazals (to which I shall refer presently) as "ein Mittelding zwischen Sextine und Runde."

Now these statements are close to the truth, but they are mere opinions ; the facts are not marshalled, nor is any induction made.

² *Leben u. Werke der Troubadours*, ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1882, S. 287.

³ *Provenzalische Litteratur*, S. 27. For further reference to this tradition see *La Vita e le Opere del Trovatore Arnaldo Daniello*, a cura di U. A. Canello, Halle, 1883.

⁴ *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Litteratur*, Elberfeld, 1872, S. 39.

⁵ *Peire Cardenals Strophenbau*, Marburg, 1884, S. 49.

⁶ *Poesie der Troubadours*, 2te Aufl., ed. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1884, S. 103.

¹ Ed. P. Rajna, Firenze, 1896, p. 193.

I find the germ of the sestina in two characteristics of the Provençal lyric :

1. The so-called *rimas dissolutas* or *Körner*, which find their correspondences in successive strophes.

2. The tendency to reverse rhyme-order (simplest form *abba*), which is very common in Provençal verse.

These *Körner* form a scale from one up until they occupy the rhyme-places of the whole strophe, as in A. Daniel's poem referred to by Dante.

In the combination of these characteristics and their development into the sestina four principal stages may be noted, though it would not be difficult to distinguish other minor gradations.⁷

1. *Canso redonda*. This I regard as the primitive type, of obvious popular origin ; form and name indicate the accompaniment of a circular dance. It consists of an indefinite number of strophes, the last rhyme of each being repeated in the first line of the next, except, of course, the last rhyme of all, which corresponds to the first rhyme of the poem. Cf. the poem of Peire Raimon de Toulouse in Bartsch, *Lesebuch*, pp. 64-65. This at least is the simplest form of this type ; but within the type there is also a progressive development. First, the rhyme taken up is a simple rhyme, then *rime riche*, then the whole rhyme-word is repeated, and finally the whole line. It does not at all matter whether all these forms are called by the name *Canso redonda*. The principle is the same ; connection of each strophe with the foregoing by repetition from the final line.

2. The next stage is the *Canso redonda encadenada*, in which all the rhymes of the first strophe are repeated in inverse order in the second, those of the second repeated similarly in the third, and thus throughout the poem. Cf. Raimon de Miraval in Mahn, *Gedichte*, 197.⁸ This form may also be regarded as belonging to the domain of popular poetry, or at least as representing the transition to *Kunstdichtung*.

3. With the poem of Guillem Peire de Cazals above referred to⁹ we reach the effort of an indi-

vidual artist. This poem has five six-lined stanzas and an envoi of three lines. The second strophe repeats not only the rhymes but the rhyme-words of the first, and in inverse order, the third those of the second, and so throughout the poem. Thus, first strophe : *astruc, vol, amistat, grat, col, aluc* ; second : *aluc, col, grat, amistat, vol, astruc* ; third : like the first, etc., the envoi repeating the rhyme-words of the last three lines of the fifth stanza.

4. From this to the sestina is but a step, and the change a very slight one. Instead of repeating the rhyme-words of the first strophe from the bottom up, Arnaut Daniel¹⁰ takes them alternately from bottom up and top down, thus :

1	6	3	5	4	2
2	1	6	3	5	4
3	5	4	2	1	6
4	2	1	6	3	5
5	4	2	1	6	3
6	3	5	4	2	1

This is the only innovation made by Daniel as compared with the form used by Peire de Cazals, except that the former brings into his *envoi* all six rhyme-words instead of only three.

There remains the question of dates. Of the four troubadours mentioned as illustrating the four stages in the development of the sestina, three were contemporary : Peire Raimon de Toulouse, fl. 1170-1200, Raimon de Miraval, fl. 1190-1220, Arnaut Daniel, fl. 1180-1200.¹¹ Of the fourth, Guillem Peire de Cazals, the dates are, I believe, unknown. In the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tome XIX, pp. 616-7, we read : " Rien n'indique l'époque à laquelle il appartient, à moins qu'on ne se fonde sur sa satire contre les seigneurs, genre de poésie devenu commun vers le milieu et la fin du XIIIe siècle." But even if it were proven that he lived at a later period, the fact would be unimportant. Since we do not possess the complete body of Provençal poetry, there is nothing to show that Guillem Peire de Cazals was the first to use the form referred to, and in any case the evolution of Romance poetic forms proceeds from simple to complex, not in the reverse direction.

Before concluding, I wish to revert briefly to the apparent contradiction in the passage quoted

⁷ See Bartsch, *Reimkunst der Troubadours in Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Litteratur*, I, S. 178 ff.

⁸ Also see Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 183.

⁹ *Parnasse occitanien*, p. 237.

¹⁰ Canello, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹¹ See Diez, *Leben u. Werke*.

at the beginning of the paper from the *De vulgari eloquentia*. I am unwilling to believe that Dante committed an error and wrote *Sem fos amor* when he meant *Lo ferm voler*. I prefer to think that he considered both poems as belonging to the same type, the distinguishing characteristic of which was, for him, rhyme-sequence from strophe to strophe but not within the strophe. A similar variant would be the poem of Guillem de Bearn also mentioned above, and still another a poem by Raimon de Miraval which runs: a b b c c d d e, e b b c c d d a.¹²

Such collateral forms were doubtless of importance in the development of the sestina, but the four types which I have emphasized would seem to represent the direct line of growth. If my solution be correct, it simply affords another slight evidence of the gradual evolution of literary forms.

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BROWNING.

The Old Yellow Book: Source of Browning's The Ring and the Book, in Complete Photo-reproduction, with Translation, Essay, and Notes, by Charles W. Hodell. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, July, 1908.

This is a solid quarto of over 600 pages, admirably printed on excellent paper. As a frontispiece, it has the splendid portrait of Browning done by his son in 1883, representing the poet as seated, with the Old Yellow Book in his hands and resting upon his knee. Other illustrations are the Franceschini coat of arms, a portrait of Guido Franceschini from a sketch made shortly before his execution, and the record of Pompilia's death from the register of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Still another, unnoted in the Table of Contents, is the autograph of Browning, in a bold hand, with the Greek of Pindar's First Olympian, lines 111 (part) and 112, 'Her strongest-wingèd dart my Muse hath yet in store.'

¹² Herrigs *Archiv*, 33, S. 440.

The book contains in order: (1) The Old Yellow Book; (2) Translation of the Old Yellow Book; (3) Translation of the Secondary Source; (4) Translation of the Casanatense Version of the Franceschini Murder; (5) The Making of a Great Poem—an Essay on the Relationship of Book and Poem; (6) Corpus of Topical Notes; (7) Line-index to Notes; (8) Subject-index.

Apart from indexes, the work, it will be seen, falls into four parts—the photo-reproduction, a series of translations, that of the Old Yellow Book being much the longest, an essay of 65 pages, and 44 pages of notes.

The old print of the reproduction looks properly crabbed. We are told by the editor that the old leaf-numbering has been clipped away in photographing, and its place supplied by modern line-numbering; and also that certain words and letters have been supplied or made more legible in the reproduction, or, as the editor expresses it, 'Certain defects due to creases in the pages of the Book had to be cut in by hand.' There are, the editor tells us, numerous typographical faults in the original, and we are prepared to believe it.

The translations are, on the whole, sufficient for the general purpose of the book, to make clearer Browning's use of his material. Much, however, would remain to be done by a translator who should endeavor to render every line correctly and intelligibly. As Professor Hodell himself says, not only have intricate periods been broken up, but legal terminology has been Anglicized rather than translated, professional mannerisms have been rendered freely, and citations have been omitted. He complains that 'certain Italian colloquialisms are shrouded in obscurity,' that the love-letters are at times unintelligible, and that the syntax, idiom, and diction of the original are barbarous. He is thus, by his own confession, unequal to making a critical translation of the book, and this fact is brought into a clearer light by his statements on p. 4 of his preface: 'Nor is the purpose linguistic—to study the crabbed Latinity and the colloquial Italian of the volume. I have therefore felt that no glossary was needed, and have omitted etymological and philological [?] annotation.' This frank avowal renders it unnecessary for the reviewer to point out instances in